1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 794 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *bone* of twenty-five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen: Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

●773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasised pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 32.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

wanted her, and the quarrel grew into a fight. Banu Adam was perturbed at this, and sat up all night making *fatḥa* and other prayers. In the morning he found that instead of one daughter he had seven, each like the next, so that he could not tell which of them was the original. He also discovered that his dog, cat, and donkey were missing, hence he naturally concluded that each of these animals had been turned into two daughters. Each man married one of the daughters, and all mankind is descended from these unions.

All women since that time have been divided into four classes: (1) those who are always fighting and making a noise, and interfering in other people's affairs—descended from the dog; (2) those sly, deceitful, and unfaithful—descended from the cat; (3) the stupid, stolid, and slow—descended from the donkey; (4) the quiet, capable, agreeable, truthful, and faithful. These last are descended from the true daughter of Banu Adam, and are rare.

In the Rif, the Ali and Jesus prediction is replaced by the legend that a man, identity unknown, will come and smite both the Muslimin and the Christians until but a tenth of each remains. Then the slayer will introduce a new religion, the nature of which has not yet been revealed. He will come across the sky with the sun from the East in a single day.

RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOODS

Just before the European conquest of the Rif, members of heterodox religious brotherhoods began to come into the territory, teaching and making converts, and Riffians who had lived outside came home bringing these doctrines with them. These sects are the Bokhariin, Derkawa, Tijaniin, and Nasiriin. All four of them now have adherents all over the Rif. The adherents are called *fakir* (plural *fokara*). The *fokara* refuse to go to the mosques or saint's tombs, but will convene for religious purposes only in the house of their local *mokaddem*. Here they pray and work themselves into religious ecstasies by monotonous chants and gruntings, accompanied by rhythmic movements of the body. In these meetings they pretend to see, or believe they see, the Prophet or the founder of their order going by in the form of a cat, a dove, or some other animal, and delivering a message on the way. They are ardent bead-tellers, and delight in expounding distinctions between the *ḥarram* and the *ḥallal*, or the forbidden unclean and the lawful. They are held in low local repute.

There are neither Aissawa [1] nor Hamadcha [2] in the Rif, and no local Hedawa.[3] The only Hedawa in the Rif are devotees, infrequently to be seen begging their way. They are distrusted, and are not encouraged to remain.

[1] The Aissawa are devotees of Sidi Mohammed ben Aissa, whose remains lie outside the walls at Meknas. They follow an extravagant cult the practices of which have often been described by Europeans. Accounts may be found in René Brunel's *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, and *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, by Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani.

[2] The Hamadcha are a sub-sect of the Aissawa. They are commonly known as the "head-choppers," on account of their practice of slashing their own heads with axes, and banging them with clubs, at their annual celebrations. References to them will be found in the two works listed above.

[3] The Hedawa are the followers of Sidi Heddi, a deceased saint of the Jebala. At his tomb there are said to be two horses which plough the fields belonging to the sanctuary, without guidance. The Hedawa do not wash or shave, and go around in rags or sometimes naked. They smoke large pipes of *kif*, and are almost continually under the influence of that drug. They claim that they can foretell the future while under its influence. They can be seen in greatest numbers at Moúlai Yakub, a sulphur bath northwest of Fez, accessible by motor.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj [755] Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure [782] barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced